



U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

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STANDARD
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Judith K. Richmond
Associate General Counsel

March 11, 1994

Lawrence Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
Office of General Counsel
999 E Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20463

AOR 1994-04

Dear Mr. Noble:

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 437f(a)(1) and 11 CFR § 112, the following constitutes a request for an advisory opinion by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America (the Chamber).

The Chamber seeks advice on the applicability of the revised rules contained in 11 CFR §§ 100.8 and 114.1, defining the term "member" of a membership organization, to the Chamber's member political action program. Specifically, the Chamber asks:

1. Whether it may send communications containing "express advocacy," as defined in Section 441b of the Federal Election Campaign Act, to its 220,000 members pursuant to the revised rules?

2. Whether it can solicit its 220,000 members for contributions to its separate segregated fund pursuant to the revised rules?

3. What specific level of membership investment in the Chamber constitutes a "significant financial attachment" to the organization that satisfies the requirements of 11 CFR §114.1(e)(2)(i)?

A. BACKGROUND

The Chamber, a non-profit, tax-exempt organization, is the largest federation of business companies and associations in the world. It was organized in 1912 at the request of President William Howard Taft, and has operated continuously as a membership organization since its inception. The Chamber's Certificate of Incorporation, which was filed with the District of Columbia on December 4, 1915, specifically states that its incorporators intended the Chamber to be a membership organization whose purpose was, in part, to "promote the mutual improvement of its members; [and] to secure cooperative action in advancing the common purposes

of its members..."

With substantial membership in each of the 50 states, the Chamber now represents over 3,000 state and local chambers of commerce, over 1,250 trade and professional associations and more than 215,000 direct business members. By working together for legislation and policies that protect our nation's private enterprise system, the Chamber helps create an environment in which all businesses can prosper.

B. U.S. Chamber Membership

Eligibility for membership in the Chamber is defined in Article II of the Chamber's bylaws, a copy of which is attached. **Organization Members** are business, professional and industrial associations not organized for principally private purposes. Bylaws, Article II, Section 1. Organization Members may be asked, through a formal referenda, to vote on selected policy matters by the Chamber's Board of Directors. Bylaws, Article VIII, Section 2. In any proceeding in which voting by Organization Members is called for, organizations having 25 members or less are entitled to one vote, and for each two hundred additional members in excess of twenty five, the organization is entitled to one additional vote. No organization is entitled to more than ten votes, and any organization paying maximum dues is entitled to 10 votes. Bylaws, Article II, Section 5.

In addition to voting on formal referenda, Organization Members may also be informally polled at the discretion of the Board of Directors or the management of the Chamber, to determine business opinion trends. The results of such informal polling are merely advisory, and are not binding on the Chamber as to policy. Bylaws, Article VIII, Section 4.

Business or Professional Members are persons, firms and corporations, or members in good standing in any organization admitted to the Chamber, or located in any community where there is no chamber of commerce. Bylaws, Article II, Section 2. Business or Professional Members do not have the right to be called upon to vote on policy matters, except an Organization Member can authorize a Business or Professional Member to cast a vote or votes on its behalf. Bylaws, Article II, Section 4.

The Board of Directors has the authority to establish, by a two-thirds vote, other classes of members, and their eligibility requirements and membership privileges, provided that no voting rights shall be granted to any class created by the Board. Bylaws, Article II, Section 3.

Currently, Chamber members are classified in the following way. Advocate members are those businesses who pay dues of at

least \$150 annually in the organization, as well as chambers of commerce and trade and professional association members. Advocate members have full rights to all of the Chamber's membership services. They also have the right to participate in the Chamber's extensive committee and council structure, which are policy-making bodies composed of representatives from firms and organizations of every size, type and geographic area. These groups recommend policy positions to the Chamber's Board of Directors and members of these committees often testify before Congress on issues of importance to the Chamber. Currently, there are 59 Chamber committees, comprised of approximately 1,500 Chamber members. Chamber staff is in constant contact with the members of these committees, seeking their advice on testimony, policy statements and other issues affecting the business community.

Associate and affiliate members make smaller financial investments in the Chamber and are entitled to fewer privileges and services. Associate members pay between \$100 and \$149 per year; affiliate members pay between \$50 and \$99 annually. These memberships often act as "introductory" memberships, although the amounts paid by associate and affiliate members are represented by the Chamber and regarded by the members as "dues." Associate and affiliate members do not have the right to participate in the Chamber's committee and council structure, however, they are entitled to attend regional and national meetings where their feedback assists the Chamber in developing and prioritizing the issues contained in the Chamber's National Business Agenda. Associate and affiliate members are also entitled to receive copies of The Business Advocate and Nation's Business, two Chamber publications which often survey members for their opinions on various business issues.

The vast majority of Chamber dues paying members, regardless of membership category, pay standard membership dues, as described above. However, there are a number of members whose annual dues in the Chamber exceed the standard annual dues for advocate, associate and affiliate members. These members follow a suggested voluntary dues schedule starting at \$3,000 annually, which is based upon the assets or sales of the business. The largest Chamber member pays \$100,000 per year.

The Chamber has a large membership sales force whose sole purpose is to expressly solicit businesses to become members of the U.S. Chamber. Chamber members affirmatively accept the Chamber's invitation to become members by signing a membership application form. The Chamber's Board approves all membership applications, and each member is sent a welcome letter signed by Dr. Richard Leshner, President of the U.S. Chamber, and a U.S. Chamber membership certificate and decal.

C. Organizational Ties Between the Chamber and its Advocate Members

The value to the Chamber of the role played by its advocate members in the policymaking process is incalculable. Indeed, the most fundamental activity of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce is the development and implementation of policy on major issues affecting business. And, in almost every instance, significant policy and public issue positions originate with one of the U.S. Chamber's committees, subcommittees, panels or councils.

The recent activities of three Chamber policy committees illustrate how Chamber members have continuing and significant input into Chamber decision-making, and how they affect the course of Chamber policy development. For example, on January 18, 1994, the Chamber's International Policy Committee, which has 68 members, met to review international trade issues, including the GATT Uruguay Round agreement. The committee approved a statement on the GATT agreement, subject to further deliberations by the committee's Foreign Commercial Relations Subcommittee and Intellectual Property Task Force. These two groups met in mid-February and crafted an addendum to the GATT statement concerning antidumping and intellectual property issues. The full International Policy Committee was polled by fax on the addendum, and the entire report was then forwarded to the Chamber's Board of Directors, which approved it on February 28, 1994.

Advocate members who serve on the Labor Relations Committee also have strong organizational ties to the Chamber and a major impact on the development of its policy. This committee, which has 67 members, jointly reviewed the issue of workers' compensation and health care reform with the Chamber's Health and Employee Benefits Committee (61 members) and the Council on Small Business (83 members). All three committees received a briefing on the issue at their regular meetings last spring and summer. Interested parties from all three groups were asked to serve on a working group, which was created to study the issue and develop policy recommendations. Subsequently, ten volunteers met for a six hour session to deliberate on the issue. Chamber staff then consolidated their input and then submitted the results back to the working group for its review. The draft recommendations were then forwarded to the three policy committees for their review and approval. The Labor Relations Committee then presented the approved recommendations to the Chamber's Board of Directors. On November 10, 1993, the Board approved the Labor Relations Committee's report on Workers' Compensation and Health Care Reform.

Because health care reform is so complicated, the Chamber also created a survey, to be mailed shortly to its 220,000 members, to solicit their views on health care reform. The results of this survey will enable the Chamber's Board to continue to develop a position on health care reform that best reflects the views of its

members.

Finally, the activities of the Chamber's Transportation Infrastructure Task Force, consisting of 63 members, illustrates the critical role played by members. This group held its inaugural meeting on October 26, 1993, where participating members identified five issue areas which would serve as Task Force priorities. Subcommittees were then formed for each issue area and on February 2 and 3, 1994 the subcommittees convened. Their discussions centered around existing Chamber policy guidelines and their applicability to today's transportation infrastructure needs. They also discussed a plan to accomplish the task force's priorities. The subcommittee participants agreed that many of the Chamber's existing guidelines were outdated and required modification, and they produced specific recommendations. A theme prevalent at all five subcommittee meetings was the need to pass National Highway System legislation.

The Transportation Infrastructure Task Force sent a recommendation to the Chamber's Board of Directors to support the immediate enactment of the National Highway System legislation, and on February 28, 1994, the Board voted unanimously in favor of the recommendation. The Task Force is now reviewing numerous other subcommittee policy recommendations which will be presented to the Chamber's Board of Directors at its June 8, 1994 meeting.

The above illustrations represent only a limited view of the huge network of Chamber members who are involved in the policymaking process. Their contribution of time and advice is immeasurable, and the Chamber could not continue its current operations without their input. In light of this, it is clear that Chamber members do possess sufficient organizational ties to qualify as members for FEC purposes.

D. U.S. Chamber Board of Directors and Nominating Committee

Pursuant to its bylaws, the U.S. Chamber's Board of Directors is a self-perpetuating body. No Chamber member, other than those who actually serve on the Chamber's Board of Directors, has the right to vote for Chamber directors, although organization members of the Chamber are entitled to suggest candidates to the Chamber's Nominating Committee for any directorship. In preparing its recommendations, the Nominating Committee must consider the name of any person proposed to it by any organization member. Bylaws, Article IX, Section 6.

The Chamber's Nominating Committee consists of 10 members of the Chamber's Board. It recommends to the Board one person for election to each elective office, for each directorship to be filled, and for vacancies that may occur in any elective office. Bylaws, Article IX, Section 4. The bylaws provide that the members

of the Chamber's Nominating Committee are elected by the Board of Directors. Each member of the Board, except the President, Chairman, Vice Chairman, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Regional Vice Chairmen and Treasurer, is eligible for membership on the Nominating Committee and to cast a ballot for one member of the committee from each of the ten election districts mandated by Article VII, Section 5 of the Chamber's bylaws. The Board member in each election district who receives the highest number of votes becomes a member of the Nominating Committee. Bylaws, Article IX, Section 3.

E. U.S. Chamber Political Program

Prior to November 10, 1993, the effective date of the regulations at issue here, the backbone of the Chamber's political program was membership communications. Through the Chamber's membership political action program, the Chamber extensively researched the issue positions of candidates for Congress and incumbents. After thorough interviews with members and deliberations by the Chamber's Public Affairs Committee and the Board of Directors, the Chamber endorsed those pro-business incumbents and candidates who met Chamber guidelines. The Chamber then notified its members of the approved endorsements. A sample copy of the Chamber's Endorsement Report is attached.

After publication of the Endorsement Report, Chamber members were encouraged to work to elect endorsed candidates through meet-the-candidate events. The Chamber also sent endorsement letters to its members on behalf of the candidates selected.

All phases of the member political action program described above were financed with general Chamber treasury funds. All non-member political communications, as well as in-kind assistance and counseling (never funding) for endorsed candidates, have been financed by the National Chamber Alliance for Politics (NCAP), the Chamber's separate segregated fund.

F. 11 CFR Section 100.8 and Section 114.1

On November 10, 1993, Sections 100.8 and 114.1 of the FEC's revised regulations became final. Under these provisions, which are identical, the FEC redefined the term "membership association" and "member," so that the term "member" means:

[A]ll persons who are currently satisfying the requirements for membership in a membership association, affirmatively accept the membership association's invitation to become a member, and either:

- (1) Have some significant financial attachment to the membership association, such as a significant

investment or ownership stake (but not merely the payment of dues);

(2) Are required to pay on a regular basis a specific amount of dues that is predetermined by the association and are entitled to vote directly either for at least one member who has full participatory and voting rights on the highest governing body of the membership association, or for those who select at least one member of those on the highest governing body of the membership association; or

(3) Are entitled to vote directly for all of those on the highest governing body of the membership association.

11 CFR Sections §§ 100.8 and 114.1.

When these regulations became effective, the Chamber was uncertain about their application to its member political action program, and placed this program on an indefinite hold. The Chamber now wishes to know whether, in light of the background information provided above, its 220,000 members fall within the FEC's definition of "member." Specifically, the Chamber wishes to know whether it can resume publication and distribution of its Endorsement Report to its members, and whether it can communicate with its members on other matters involving express advocacy. The Chamber also wishes to know whether it can solicit its members for contributions to NCAP, its separate segregated fund. Finally, the Chamber wishes to know specifically how the FEC defines the term "significant financial attachment" to an organization pursuant to 11 CFR 100.8 and 114.1, and what specific level of membership dues must be paid before a Chamber member can qualify as a "member" under the FEC's regulations?

G. The Chamber Should be Recognized as a Membership Organization

As the Chamber noted in its November 20, 1992 comments to the FEC regarding its Notice of Proposed Rulemaking to amend the definition of the term "member" of a membership association, the association should be the final judge of who constitutes a member of an organization. The Chamber stressed that many different factors, including but not limited to the right to elect the members of the organization's governing body and contribute financially to the organization, should be included in the membership determination.

For example, the ability of Chamber members to participate in policy matters and shape the direction of the organization through

service on Chamber committees and councils, should, we believe, qualify as the "relatively enduring and independently significant financial or organizational attachment ..." required to be a "member" pursuant to the Supreme Court's decision in Fed. Election Comm'n v. National Right to Work Comm., 459 U.S. 197 (1982). The Chamber urges the FEC to consider the examples of the organizational ties between the Chamber and its advocate members provided in Section C above, and to recognize that without member input on policy matters, the Chamber could not continue its current system of formulating policy positions on behalf of the business community.

Moreover, the FEC would be well served by studying the definitions of "members" used by other federal agencies. For example, the Chamber has long been recognized by the Internal Revenue Service as a Section 501(c)(6) chamber of commerce, and all of its 220,000 members have been considered "members" by the IRS for both grassroots lobbying and political activities. Moreover, the FEC's new definition of "member" is not consistent with the IRS' definition of membership in a charitable organization for purposes of Section 4911. This definition of the term "member" includes anyone who: 1) pays dues or makes a contribution of more than a nominal amount, 2) contributes more than a nominal amount of time, or 3) is an honorary or life member with more than a nominal connection to the organization. Treas. Reg. § 56.4911-5(f)(1). The IRS definition of membership is much more reasonable and flexible than the FEC's, and balances the constitutional guarantees of speech and association against important statutory interests.

H. Constitutional Concerns

The Chamber also noted in its November 20, 1992 comments that the FEC's proposed rule raised serious questions about whether they unconstitutionally restrict the association and speech rights of the Chamber and its members. The revised final regulations have not alleviated those concerns. Rather, the new regulations are more restrictive than necessary to further Congress' legitimate campaign reform goals.

For example, the Supreme Court has upheld limitations on corporate solicitation and spending on two grounds: the dangers of huge war chests amassed under protection of state law, and a corporation's ability to use money acquired from consumers and shareholders for unrelated reasons to support political candidates the consumers and shareholders do not support. Many of the restrictions imposed by the FEC's new regulation do not further either goal. Why, for instance, would permitting the Chamber to solicit a member for contributions to its separate segregated fund pose a danger along either of these lines? Moreover, these concerns are not relevant when the Chamber merely communicates with its members on issues involving express advocacy.

Similarly, the distinctions the FEC has drawn between different associations -- e.g., between incorporated associations, corporations and labor unions, do not appear to be plausibly related to Congress' particular reasons for enacting specific limitations on corporate involvement in campaign financing. Accordingly, the regulation also violates the Equal Protection Clause -- particularly given the heightened scrutiny appropriate for regulations such as these which curb First Amendment activity.

Furthermore, if the FEC rules that the Chamber's members are not members for purposes of the federal election laws, the Chamber's "fundamental right to associate" with its 220,000 members will be restricted in violation of a long line of Supreme Court precedent. See, e.g., Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976), NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 1488 (1958). Indeed, the Chamber's right to associate has already been compromised, because the Chamber was forced to cease communications with its members on issues involving express advocacy when these regulations became final. The Chamber believes that in guaranteeing the freedom to associate, the Founding Fathers did not intend to severely restrict the manner in which persons who have joined together choose to govern themselves. The issue should be whether the association is a legitimate membership organization or a charade. The Chamber is clearly the former.

Finally, the vagueness of the regulations raises additional constitutional questions. The Supreme Court has stated that "because we assume that man is free to steer between lawful and unlawful conduct, we insist that laws give the person of ordinary intelligence a reasonable opportunity to know what is prohibited, so that he may act accordingly. Vague laws trap the innocent by not providing fair warning." Grayned v. City of Rockford, 408 U.S. 104, 108 (1972). Furthermore, "a vague law denies due process by imposing standards of conduct so indeterminate that it is impossible to ascertain just what will result in sanctions..." Hastings v. Judicial Conference of U.S., 829 F.2d 91, 105 (D.C.Cir. 1987), cert. denied, 485 U.S. 1014 (1988).

In this case, the lack of any guidance concerning the meaning of the term "significant financial attachment to the membership association, such as a significant investment or ownership stake" creates substantial problems for associations who have traditionally relied on a predetermined dues structure to determine membership eligibility. Moreover, many of the Chamber's members voluntarily contribute thousands of dollars more than the standard annual membership dues applicable to its advocate, associate and affiliate members. Accordingly, at least some of the Chamber's larger members should satisfy the FEC's requirement of "significant financial attachment," although the Chamber has no way of knowing which of its members actually fall within this category.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions concerning the above.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Judith K. Richmond". The signature is written in dark ink and has a fluid, connected style.

Judith K. Richmond

BYLAWS

OF THE
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D.C.



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CONTENTS

<i>Article</i>	<i>Subject</i>	
I	Name and Purposes	3
II	Membership	4
III	Meetings	7
IV	Officers	7
V	Senior Council	11
VI	Board of Directors	12
VII	Election of Directors	13
VIII	Procedure for Adopting Policies	15
IX	Committees	17
X	Amendments	21
XI	Order of Business	21
XII	Application of Funds	22
XIII	National Emergency	22
	Index	23

BYLAWS

ARTICLE I NAME AND PURPOSES

THIS organization shall be known and designated as the CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The principal purposes of this organization are: to advance the efficiency and usefulness of, and promote cooperation among chambers of commerce, trade and professional associations, and other business, professional, commercial and civic organizations sharing a mutuality of interest in the Nation's economic well-being; to provide for the consideration of national and international subjects having significant implications for United States enterprise; and, through concentration of informed judgment and opinion, to develop and seek implementation of policy recommendations to guide the process of decision-making on such subjects; and, through all proper means to foster enlightened understanding and effective application of the economic and political principles essential to the continued growth of freedom and opportunity within the American enterprise system.

In pursuing these purposes this Chamber seeks to support our system of representative government with its three equal and coordinated branches of government and its Bill of Rights; to preserve and further perfect the operation of our economic system based upon private initiative and enterprise; to maintain fair relations among labor, capital and management with an inducing return to each; and, through the accomplishment of the foregoing purposes will provide liberty, opportunity, and more goods and services for all people.

To these ends the Chamber of Commerce of

the United States of America stands ready to cooperate with government, with other organized commercial groups, with labor, with agriculture and with all men of good will.

ARTICLE II MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Business, professional and industrial associations not organized for principally private purposes shall be eligible for membership in the Chamber as Organization Members. Such associations shall be of four classes: First, local, intrastate, state, or regional business and industrial organizations whose chief purpose is the general development of the business and industrial interests of a single region, state, city or locality; Second, local, intrastate, state, interstate or national organizations whose membership is confined to one trade or group of trades; Third, professional organizations; Fourth, such other bodies of similar purpose as may be elected by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Board of Directors present at any duly called meeting of the Board.

SECTION 2. Persons, firms and corporations, members in good standing in any organization admitted to the Chamber, or located in any community where there is no chamber of commerce which is a member of this Chamber, shall be eligible for membership in the Chamber as Business or Professional Members.

SECTION 3. The Board of Directors shall have the authority to designate and establish, by a two-thirds vote of the whole number of Members of the Board, other classes of members of the Chamber, and the eligibility requirements and membership privileges of each such class, *Provided*, that no voting rights shall be granted to any class created hereunder.

SECTION 4. All Business or Professional Members shall be entitled to receive the regular pub-

lications of the Chamber and to avail themselves of the facilities of the National Headquarters, shall be eligible to membership on all standing or special committees, may attend all regular and special meetings of the Chamber, and, subject to the rules of such meetings, shall have the privileges of the floor. They shall not be entitled to vote in any proceedings except as duly authorized by an Organization Member to cast a vote or votes on its behalf. Appropriate information concerning any policy proposal submitted by mail to Organization Members shall also be sent to each Business or Professional Member with the request that he or it file an opinion thereon with the affiliated organization, if any, of which he or it shall be a member. In the case of firms any member of the firm duly designated shall have the power and authority to represent it. In the case of a corporation any officer of the corporation duly designated by such corporation shall have the power to represent said corporation.

SECTION 5. In any proceeding in which voting by Organization Members is called for, the number of votes to which each such Member in good standing is entitled shall be as follows: An organization having twenty-five members or less shall be entitled to one vote, and for each two hundred additional members in excess of twenty-five one additional vote; *Provided*, That no organization shall be entitled to more than ten votes; and *Provided further*, That any organization paying the maximum dues shall be entitled to ten votes.

SECTION 6. The Board of Directors may specify procedures, including information to be furnished, governing applications for membership and action thereon, and such requirements of eligibility for membership or renewal thereof as are not inconsistent with these Bylaws. The Board shall have sole and exclusive authority

to determine the qualifications and eligibility of all applicants for membership and to approve or disapprove any applicant.

SECTION 7. The Board of Directors shall determine the annual dues for each member or class of membership. Annual dues shall be payable to the Treasurer on the first of the month following approval of membership, and annually thereafter on that date.

SECTION 8. A member paying dues in excess of the minimum prescribed shall be entitled to such multiple of publications or other membership privileges as may be authorized by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 9. If any member of this Chamber shall fail or refuse to pay annual dues within a period of sixty days after the same are due and payable, the membership of such member shall then stand suspended and may be terminated by the Board of Directors without regard to the provisions of section 11 of this Article. The Board of Directors may, however, in its discretion and upon such terms as it deems proper, subject to the provisions of these Bylaws, restore such suspended member to good standing.

SECTION 10. Any member may withdraw from the Chamber by submitting to the President a written resignation accompanied by a remittance in full for all dues to date.

SECTION 11. The membership of any member may be terminated by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Board of Directors present at any duly called meeting of the Board; *Provided*, That by a similar vote the Board shall first find that such membership is prejudicial to the interests of the Chamber; *Provided further*, That the member in question shall have had opportunity upon notice of at least thirty days to show cause why the membership should not be termi-

nated as provided in this section. Upon such termination the dues paid for the current year shall be returned.

ARTICLE III MEETINGS

The annual meetings of the Chamber shall be held at such place and at such time as may be fixed by the Board of Directors. Notice of the time of each annual meeting shall be mailed to each member at least 90 days in advance thereof. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman of the Board, and upon written request of twenty-five per cent of the organization members or of a majority of the members of the Board of Directors the Chairman shall call a special meeting for such purpose and within such time as shall be set forth in the written request. Notice of all special meetings shall be sent by the President or Secretary to each organization member at least thirty days prior to the date for assembling. In case of a special meeting, such notice shall also state the object of the meeting and the subjects to be considered.

ARTICLE IV OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of this Chamber shall be a Chairman of the Board of Directors, a President, a Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, a Chairman of the Executive Committee, one Regional Vice Chairman to represent each Division of the Chamber, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and such other officers as may be appointed in accordance with provisions of this Article.

SECTION 2. The members of the Board of Directors, Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Regional Vice Chairmen, and the Treasurer shall be elective officers. These officers shall be

elected annually by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 3. Each elective officer shall take office at a session of the Board held during the annual meeting following his election and shall serve for a term of one year, and until his successor is duly elected and qualified. If the annual meeting should be postponed or cancelled the Board shall specify the date, not later than 60 days following the date of election, upon which newly elected officers shall take office.

SECTION 4. No Chairman of the Board of Directors, Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, or Chairman of the Executive Committee shall serve for more than one term of office; and no Regional Vice Chairman shall serve for more than three consecutive terms of office. No elective officer who has served the maximum terms allowed above shall serve more than 90 days additional while awaiting the election of his successor. For the purposes of this section, a portion of a term shall be considered a full term.

Any officer appointed or elected by the Board may be removed from office by a majority vote of the Board at any regular or special meeting at which a quorum is present.

A vacancy in any elective office may be filled for the balance of the term thereof through election by the Board of Directors at any regular or special meeting or by mail ballot.

SECTION 5. The President shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Board of Directors, with the approval of the Board. The term of the President shall be such term as is fixed by the Board of Directors. A vacancy in this office may be filled for the balance of the term thereof by like appointment at any time. Any Board action hereunder may be taken at any regular or special meeting or by mail ballot.

SECTION 6. The Secretary shall be appointed annually by the President, with the approval of

the Board of Directors, subject to reappointment without restriction. A vacancy in this office may be filled for the balance of the term thereof by like appointment at any time. Any Board action hereunder may be taken at any regular or special meeting or by mail ballot.

SECTION 7. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall be the principal elective officer. He shall preside at meetings of the Board of Directors and at meetings of the Chamber's membership. Except as may be otherwise provided in these Bylaws, he shall be a member ex officio of all committees. He may be called upon to preside at meetings of the Executive Committee or of other administrative committees, in the absence of the chairman of any such committee, unless otherwise provided in these Bylaws or by rules adopted by the Board, and shall perform such other duties specified in these Bylaws or assigned by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 8. The Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors shall preside at meetings of the Board of Directors, in the absence of the Chairman, assist or act on behalf of the Chairman to carry out responsibilities of the Chairman in his absence or at his request, and perform such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 9. The President shall be the full-time, salaried, chief operating officer in charge of administration and management of the Chamber, and he shall report to the Board. He shall employ and may terminate the employment of members of the staff necessary to carry out his duties. He shall manage and direct all departments, divisions and activities of the Chamber, and shall perform such other duties as may be assigned by the Board. Except as may be otherwise provided in these Bylaws, he shall be a member

ex officio of all committees.

SECTION 10. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee, and perform such other duties as the Chairman of the Board of Directors may request.

SECTION 11. The Treasurer shall have custody and keep account of moneys, funds and property of the Chamber, unless otherwise determined by the Board of Directors, and shall keep full and accurate accounts of receipts and disbursements in books belonging to the Chamber, and he shall render such accounts and present such statements to the Board of Directors and Chairman of the Board as may be required of him. He shall deposit all funds of the Chamber not otherwise employed in the name and to the credit of the Chamber in such depositories as may be designated by the Board of Directors. He shall make disbursements from the funds of the Chamber upon order of or pursuant to such procedure for approving disbursements as may be authorized by the Board of Directors, and shall perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors. The Treasurer may appoint one or more assistant treasurers, to perform such duties as the Treasurer may delegate to him or them. An assistant treasurer shall hold office for such period, not to exceed three years, as the Treasurer may specify, subject to reappointment without restriction.

SECTION 12. The Secretary shall maintain such records of the Chamber and give such notices of meetings as may be prescribed by the President, the Board of Directors, or these Bylaws, and shall attest to all official papers. The President may appoint one or more assistant secretaries to perform such duties of that office as the President may delegate to him or them. An assistant secretary shall hold office for such period, not to exceed three years, as the Presi-

dent may specify, subject to reappointment without restriction.

SECTION 13. Such other officers, not specifically provided for in these Bylaws, as may be deemed necessary, may be appointed by the President, with the approval or upon the authorization of the Board of Directors, to hold office for such period as may be specified with respect to any such appointment.

SECTION 14. Any two or more appointive offices may be held by the same person, except the offices of President and Secretary.

SECTION 15. Notwithstanding expiration of his term, any appointed officer shall continue to hold office until his successor has been appointed and taken office, unless his appointment is earlier specifically revoked.

SECTION 16. All officers or employees handling money on account of the Chamber shall be bonded in such amount as may be determined by the Board of Directors. The expense of furnishing such bonds shall be paid by the Chamber.

ARTICLE V SENIOR COUNCIL

SECTION 1. There shall be a Senior Council composed of not more than five past principal elective officers who have most recently served at least a full term as the principal elective officer; *Provided*, That in the event of resignation or death of a member of the Senior Council the vacancy shall only be filled by a principal elective officer who has completed his term of office and who retires subsequent to the date when the vacancy occurred; *Provided further*, That the term "principal elective officer" as used in this section shall mean a President who completed his term of office on or before April 29, 1974.

or a Chairman of the Board of Directors taking office on or after that date.

SECTION 2. The function of the Senior Council shall be to form a cabinet of advisors to the Chairman of the Board of Directors, particularly in matters involving policies and precedents. It shall meet upon the call of the Chairman of the Board of Directors or of the Board or on call signed by a majority of its members.

ARTICLE VI BOARD OF DIRECTORS

SECTION 1. The Board of Directors shall consist of the Chairman of the Board of Directors, the President, the Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the members of the Senior Council, the Regional Vice Chairmen, the Treasurer, and such number of elected Directors as is otherwise provided in these Bylaws.

SECTION 2. The Board of Directors shall have supervision, control and direction of the affairs of the Chamber, shall determine its policies or changes therein subject to procedures or requirements elsewhere specified in these Bylaws, shall actively prosecute its objects and shall have discretion in the disbursement of its funds. It may adopt such rules and regulations for the conduct of its business as shall be deemed advisable, and may, in the execution of the powers granted, appoint such agents as it may consider necessary. The Board may conduct its business in meeting or otherwise.

SECTION 3. The Board of Directors shall meet at such times and places as it may designate after the election of its members. It shall further meet upon call of the Chairman of the Board of Directors at such times and places as he may designate, shall be called to meet upon the de-

mand of a majority of its members. Notice of all meetings of the Board shall be made by mail, telegram, telephone, or comparable means to each member at least five days in advance of such meeting. If less than ten days notice is given, members shall be notified by telephone, telegram, or comparable means. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum. Any less number may adjourn from time to time until a quorum be present.

SECTION 4. The Board of Directors shall cause to be kept a full and complete record of all its proceedings, which shall be open to the inspection of the members at any time. It shall also publish from time to time reports indicating the results of the discussions of the various questions which shall have been submitted to the members, and distribute such reports among the members as it shall deem wise and necessary. It shall transmit such of these reports to public officers, to the Congress of the United States, and to other bodies, as the Board may consider proper.

SECTION 5. Members of the Board who are unable to attend duly called meetings of the Board shall, in a letter addressed to the President, state the cause of their absence. If a Director is absent from three consecutive regular meetings for reasons which the Board has failed to declare to be sufficient, his resignation shall be deemed to have been tendered and accepted.

SECTION 6. The Board of Directors shall maintain in the City of Washington General Offices which shall be the National Headquarters of this Chamber.

ARTICLE VII ELECTION OF DIRECTORS

SECTION 1. Each year twenty-five Directors shall be elected by the Board of Directors, for terms of two years.

Of the Directors elected each year, one shall be elected from each election district.

SECTION 2. Directors shall be elected at a regular meeting of the Board held not less than 30 days prior to the annual meeting, unless the Board shall otherwise provide.

SECTION 3. To be eligible for service as a Director a person must be a Member of the Chamber in good standing, or an officer or employee of a Member in good standing.

SECTION 4. No person shall serve as an elected Director for more than three consecutive terms of office, and in this connection a portion of a term shall be considered a full term.

SECTION 5. The election districts, the number and boundaries of which shall be changed only by a two-thirds vote of the Board of Directors, shall be as follows:

DISTRICT

- I Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands.
- II New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware.
- III Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina.
- IV Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee.
- V Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan.
- VI Illinois, Wisconsin.
- VII Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana.
- VIII Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska.
- IX Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Idaho, Nevada.
- X Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, Hawaii, Guam.

SECTION 6. For administrative purposes, the territory comprising the 50 states and the Dis-

trict of Columbia shall be divided into Divisions, the number and boundaries of which shall be initially determined by, and which may be changed by, a two-thirds vote of the Board.

SECTION 7. Each newly elected Director shall take office at a session of the Board held during the annual meeting following his election. If the annual meeting should be postponed or cancelled the Board shall specify the date, not later than 60 days following the date of election, upon which newly elected Directors shall take office.

SECTION 8. The Board shall provide by rule for such procedures as may be necessary to effect provisions of these Bylaws governing nomination and election of Directors.

SECTION 9. A vacancy in any elected directorship may be filled for the balance of the term thereof through election by the remaining members of the Board of Directors at any regular or special meeting or by mail ballot.

SECTION 10. If a person elected to membership on the Board of Directors declines to serve or becomes incapacitated to serve, the membership shall be declared vacant by the Board and shall be filled by the Board for the unexpired term.

SECTION 11. Any member of the Board of Directors may resign at any time by giving written notice to the President or to the Board. Such resignation shall take effect at the time specified therein, or, if no time specified, at the time of acceptance thereof as determined by the President or the Board.

Any Director may be removed by a majority vote of the Directors at any regular or special meeting at which a quorum is present.

ARTICLE VIII

PROCEDURE FOR ADOPTING POLICIES

SECTION 1. All proposals considered or acted

upon by this Chamber shall be national in character, timely in importance, and general in application and of significance to business and industry.

The Board of Directors shall determine the eligibility of all proposals to be considered and acted upon by this Chamber.

SECTION 2. A policy declaration, or a change in or reaffirmation of existing policy, shall be approved only by:

A. A two-thirds vote of the whole number of Members of the Board, in meeting or otherwise; or

B. The Organization Members by their vote upon submittal to them of a policy proposal, in accordance with procedures prescribed in these Bylaws and rules approved by the Board of Directors not inconsistent with such Bylaws requirements; or

C. A two-thirds vote of the whole number of members of the Executive Committee upon a determination by the Chairman of the Board of Directors or the Chairman of the Executive Committee that an emergency exists with respect to a matter as to which there is no adequate policy and that there is not sufficient time to establish a policy under either of the foregoing procedures.

SECTION 3. Submittal of a policy proposal to referendum may be by mail, telegraph, or other appropriate means, as the Board may determine, in accordance with the rules which the Board may adopt; *Provided*, That the length of the voting period shall not be more than forty-five days nor less than fifteen days from the issuance of the resolution. *Provided further*, That one-third of the voting strength of the Chamber must be recorded and two-thirds of the votes thus cast, representing at least

twenty-five states, must be in favor of each proposed policy, in order to commit the Chamber. No vote shall be valid unless received within the prescribed voting period.

SECTION 4. In addition to formal referenda as provided above, the Board of Directors or management of the Chamber may, at its discretion, informally poll the Organization Members to determine trends of business opinion on questions currently important; the results not to be binding upon the Chamber as to policy, but to be advisory to the Board and management.

SECTION 5. An Organization Member of this Chamber shall not be deemed to have impaired its standing in the National Chamber by efforts to promote its own policies regardless of its action in a National Chamber referendum.

ARTICLE IX

COMMITTEES

SECTION 1. The Chairman of the Board of Directors, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors, shall annually appoint an Executive Committee and such other standing, special or subcommittees, boards or agencies, as may be required by the Bylaws, also such others as he may find necessary. So far as practicable, appointments shall be diversified for the purpose of securing a balanced committee in order that studies and/or recommendations of committees will be made with due regard to all the views related to a comprehensive, fair and intelligent consideration of the subject matter within the committee's jurisdiction, and all committees shall report to the Board upon recommendations, and also all actions taken in accordance with previously granted authority.

SECTION 2. The Executive Committee shall be composed of the Chairman of the Executive

Committee, the President, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, and not less than nine other Directors to be appointed by the Chairman of the Board of Directors, subject to the approval of the Board. Except as may otherwise be provided in these Bylaws, it shall have such duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors, and such powers of the Board as may be delegated to it from time to time by the Board. It shall report to the Board such recommendations as it may have, and also all action taken in pursuance of previously granted authority.

The Board may by express action nullify any action of the Executive Committee, but such nullification shall be effective only from and after the time of such express Board action.

Members of the Executive Committee who are unable to attend duly called meetings of said Committee shall, in a letter addressed to the President, state the cause of their absence. If a member of the Executive Committee is absent from three consecutive meetings for reasons which the Committee has failed to declare as sufficient, his resignation shall be deemed to have been tendered and accepted.

Vacancies with respect to appointed members of the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Chairman of the Board of Directors, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors.

The regular meetings of the Executive Committee shall be held during the year at intervals to be fixed by the Committee, the dates of said meetings to be set at least ten days in advance thereof. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman of the Board of Directors, or by vote of the Committee. The Executive Committee may conduct its business in ~~any~~ or otherwise, ~~as a majority of the Executive Committee~~ shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION 3. Each year at such time as it shall

select, the Board of Directors shall by secret ballot elect a Nominating Committee of ten to serve from July 1 succeeding its election to the next July 1. Each member of the Board, except the President, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Regional Vice Chairmen and Treasurer, shall be eligible for membership on the committee and to cast a ballot for one member of the committee from each of the ten election districts. The one among the members of the Board in each district who receives the highest number of votes shall be a member of the committee. A ballot containing the names of the members of the Nominating Committee so elected shall immediately be furnished each member thereof for the purpose of electing a chairman. Each member shall cast one vote for chairman and the member receiving the highest number of votes shall be the chairman. In the event of any tie it shall be resolved by lot.

Any vacancy on the committee shall be filled by the Board by election in accordance with the foregoing procedures. Any vacancy in the chairmanship shall be filled by the committee in the manner provided above for electing a chairman.

SECTION 4. The Nominating Committee shall recommend to the Board one person for election to each elective office, for each directorship to be filled for the full term, and for vacancies that may occur in any elective office or directorship during the regular term thereof.

SECTION 5. Within thirty days of their election, notice shall be given to members of the Chamber of the names of the ~~Nominating Committee~~ chosen for each year.

SECTION 6. At least four months in advance of the ~~annual meeting~~, the Chamber shall notify all Organization Members of directorships to be

filled by election for full terms beginning at the annual meeting. Such notice shall advise the Organization Members that they are entitled to suggest candidates for any directorship, and shall specify the last date on which proposals shall be submitted, this date to be not less than sixty days subsequent to the date of mailing notice. In preparing its recommendations, the Nominating Committee shall consider the name of any person proposed to it by any member organization or organizations on or before the last date so specified.

SECTION 7. There shall be a Budget Committee appointed by the Chairman of the Board of Directors which shall review and report to the Board of Directors its recommendations with respect to an annual operating budget and other appropriations, and shall have such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 8. There shall be an Audit Committee, appointed annually by the Chairman of the Board of Directors, subject to the approval of the Board. The Audit Committee shall be responsible for (1) selection of the independent accountants to audit the financial affairs of the Chamber; (2) to receive reports from the independent accountants and review them from time to time (copies of all reports from the independent accountants shall also be furnished to the President and the Chairman of the Board); (3) to report at least annually to the Board of Directors; and (4) to report recommendations as to fidelity and insurance coverage for approval by the Board at least annually. Compensation of the independent auditors shall be determined or Chamber.

SECTION 9. There shall be a Committee on Compensation and Employee Benefit Arrangements composed of the Chairman of the Board

of Directors, the Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and the immediate past Chairman of the Executive Committee, who shall be Chairman of the Committee. The Chairman of the Board of Directors may appoint any other member of the Board to fill any vacancy on this committee. The Committee shall review the recommendations as presented by the President with respect to (1) the rates and manner of payment of compensation to be paid to employees of the Chamber, and (2) the adoption, modification, or termination of any pension plan, or other incentive or benefit plan or arrangement applicable to any or all of the employees of the Chamber, and submit such recommendations as to any such matters as it deems appropriate to the Budget Committee. For purposes of this section "employees" shall include any officer who is also an employee.

ARTICLE X AMENDMENTS

These Bylaws may be amended upon proposal by the Board of Directors and approval of the proposed amendment by the Organization Members through vote in accordance with the provisions of Article VIII governing referendum voting on policies.

ARTICLE XI ORDER OF BUSINESS

SECTION 1. The order of business for annual and special meetings shall be determined by the rules prepared by the Board of Directors in

SECTION 2. Robert's Rules of Order shall govern deliberations of this Chamber.

ARTICLE XII APPLICATION OF FUNDS

The Chamber shall use its funds only to accomplish its objectives and purposes, and no part of said funds shall inure, or be distributed, to the members or any of them. On dissolution of the Chamber, any funds remaining shall be distributed to one or more regularly organized and qualified charitable, educational, scientific, or philanthropic organizations to be selected by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XIII NATIONAL EMERGENCY

In furtherance of its responsibility for the supervision, control and direction of the affairs of the Chamber, the Board of Directors may provide such special rules, regulations and procedures as it shall deem necessary to the continued effective maintenance and conduct of the Chamber during a period of national emergency.

Such rules may specify provisions of these Bylaws to be suspended during such a period. Suspension of such provisions shall be effective when and for such period of time as compliance therewith is impossible because of a national emergency, whereupon the applicable rules, regulations or procedures shall be accorded the full force and effect of Bylaws provisions.

INDEX

	Art.	Sec.	Page
Absence from Board meetings	VI	5	13
Absence from Executive Committee meetings	IX	2	18
Amendment to Bylaws	X		21
Annual meeting, provision for and rules	III		7
Application for membership	XI		21
Assistant Secretary, appointment and duties	II	6	5
Assistant Treasurer, appointment and duties	IV	12	10
Audit Committee, appointment and functions	IX	11	19
Board of Directors:			
Absence from meetings of	VI	5	13
Composition and general duties	VI		12-13
Determines membership eligibility	II	6	5
Elects Directors	VII	1	13
Elects Officers	IV	2	7-8
May submit policy proposals for membership vote	VIII	2, 3	16
May take informal poll	VIII	4	17
National emergency, special rules	XIII		22
Notice required for meetings	VI	3	12
Organization meetings after annual election	VI	3	12
Policy adoption	VIII	1, 2	15-16
Procedure for nominating and electing members of Board	VII	1-10	13-15
Quorum, 20 members	IX	3-6	18-19
Record of proceedings	VI	3	13
Reports by	VI	4	13
Vacancies—unexpired terms	VI	9	15
Bonds for employees handling money	VII		15
Budget Committee, appointment and functions	IV	16	11
Business and Professional Members—see Members.	IX	7	20
Bylaws: amendment of	X		21
Chairman of the Board of Directors:			
Election and duties	IV	1-5, 7, 8	7-9
Ex officio member of committee			9
Extension on length of service	IV	4	8
Chairman of the Executive Committee	IV	1, 2, 4, 10	7-10
Checks—see Disbursements	IX	2	17

	Art.	Sec.	Page
Committee to nominate Directors and Officers	IX	3, 4	18-19
Committees:			
Appointment	IX	1	17
Chairman of the Board as ex officio member	IV	7	9
Personnel shall be diversified	IX	1	17
President as member ex officio	IV	9	9-10
Report to Board of Directors	IX	1	17
Compensation and Employee Benefit Arrangements Committee	IX	9	20
Directors:			
Can serve not more than three consecutive terms as elected director	VII	4	14
Duties and responsibilities	VI	2-6	12-13
Elected by Board	VII	1	13
Election for unexpired terms	VII	9	15
Election procedure:			
Nominating Committee	IX	3-6	18-19
Directors	VII	1-10	13-15
Officers	IV	2-4	7-8
Eligibility for election	VII	3	14
Geographical representation	VII	1	13
Length of terms	VII	1	13
Number elected each year	VII	1	13
Portion of term considered a full term	VII	4	14
Qualifications	VII	3	14
Time to take office	VII	7	15
Directorship automatically becomes vacant after three consecutive unexcused absences from Regular Board meeting	VI	5	13
Directorship may be declared vacant by Board	VII	10	15
Disbursements	IV	11	10
Board discretion	VI	2	12
Dissolution, assets upon	XII		21
Districts (election), described	VII	5	14
Divisions (main geographical)	VII	6	14
Dues:			
Board to determine	II	7	6
Dates payable	II	9	6
Days of grace	II	9	6
Must be returned for current year upon termination of membership for cause other than resignation	II	9	6
Suspension for failure to pay	II	9	6
Termination of membership for failure to pay	II	9	6
Election Districts, described	VII	5	14

	Art.	Sec.	Page
Election, nominations for	IX	3, 6	18-19
Election of directors, procedure	VII	1-10	13-15
Election of officers	IV	1, 2	7
Election of members	II	6	5
Eligibility of members:			
Organization	II	1	4
Business or professional	II	2	4
Other classes established by Board	II	3	4
Eligibility of policy proposals	VIII	1	15
Employees of Chamber:			
Bonds for those handling money	IV	10	11
Employment	IV	9	9
Executive Committee, appointment and functions	IX	1, 2	17-18
Policy approval	VIII	2	16
Funds, application of	XII		21
Grace, days allowed for paying dues	II	9	6
Headquarters in Washington	VI	6	13
Informal poll on current questions	VIII	4	17
Meetings:			
Notice of—see Notice of meetings.			
Quorum—see Quorum.			
Rules for annual and special	XI		21
Special and regular	III		7
Members—Business and Professional:			
Applications	II	6	5
Board action	II	6	5
Dues	II	7	6
Eligibility	II	2	4
Failure to pay dues	II	9	6
Matters to be sent to	II	4, 8	4, 6
Reinstatement	II	9	6
Resignation	II	10	6
Rights and privileges	II	4	4
Services where dues in excess of minimum	II	8	6
Suspension	II	9	6
Termination of membership:			
For failure to pay dues	II	9	6
For other causes	II	11	6
Members—Organization:			
Dues	II	6	5
Eligibility	II	1	4
Failure to pay dues and suspension	II	9	6
Four classes	II	1	4

	Art.	Sec.	Page
Policy may be approved by Representation and voting strength	VIII	2	16
Reinstatement	II	5	5
Resignation	II	9	6
Suggestions for Directorships	II	10	6
Termination of membership:	IX	6	19
For failure to pay dues	II	9	6
For other causes	II	11	6
Members—classes established by the Board	II	3	4
Minority voters on referenda	VIII	5	17
Moneys of Chamber, handling	IV	11	10
Name and purposes of the Chamber	I		3
National emergency, Board may provide rules for operation during	XIII		22
Nominating Committee:			
Election of committee	IX	3	18
Function of committee	IX	4	19
Notices to Chamber Members:			
Names of committee members	IX	5	19
Directorships to be filled	IX	6	19
Suggestions by Organizations			
Members	IX	6	19
Vacancies on committee	IX	3	19
Notice of meetings:			
Annual, 90 days	III		7
Board of Directors, 10 days	VI	3	12-13
Executive Committee, 10 days	IX	2	18
Special, 30 days	III		7
Subjects to be considered at special meetings	III		7
Officers of National Chamber:			
Committee to nominate	IX	3, 4	18-19
Limitation on number of terms	IV	4	8
Title, manner of electing or appointing, duties, etc.	IV	1-15	7-11
Order of business, meetings	XI		21
Organization Members—see Members.			
Policies:			
Approved by Board	VIII	2	16
Eligibility	VIII	1	15
Executive Committee action	VIII	2	16
Members may approve through	VIII	2, 3	16
President:			
Appointment and duties	IV	5, 9	8, 9
Ex officio member of committees	IV	9	9

	Art.	Sec.	Page
Professional Members—see Members.			
Proposals for Directors	IX	6	19
Purposes of Chamber	I		3
Quorum:			
Meetings of Board of Directors	VI	3	13
Referendum voting	VIII	3	16
Receipts, method of handling	IV	11	10
Records, Secretary shall keep	IV	12	10
Referendum:			
Bylaws may be amended by	X		21
Information concerning	II	4	5
Policy may be approved by	VIII	2, 3	16
Procedure for conducting	VIII	3	16
Voting strength of organizations	II	5	5
Reinstatement to membership	II	9	6
Regional Vice Chairmen:			
Election	IV	1-4	7, 8
Limited to three consecutive terms	IV	4	8
Representation of organizations	II	4, 5	4, 5
Resignation of members	II	9	6
Resolutions—see Policies.			
Rules for meetings	XI		21
Secretary, appointment and duties	IV	6, 12, 14	8, 10, 11
Senior Council, membership and duties	V		11
Suspension of Bylaws, national emergency	XIII		22
Suspension of members	II	9	6
Termination of membership:			
For failure to pay dues	II	9	6
For other causes	II	11	6
Time limit for referendum vote, Board may establish	VIII	3	16
Treasurer, election and duties	IV	2-4, 11	7, 8, 10
Vacancies in the Board of Directors, filling of	VII	9, 10	15
Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors:			
Election and duties	IV	1-4, 8	7, 8, 9
Limited to one term	IV	4	8
Vice Chairmen, Regional—see Regional Vice Chairmen.			
Voters in minority on referenda	VIII	5	17
Voting strength of organizations	II	5	5

U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Washington, D. C. 20062-2000

OCTOBER 1992

This final report of the 1992 election cycle contains House and Senate races in which the Board of Directors of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has voted to endorse candidates and recommend business involvement. All endorsements by the Chamber represent opportunities for business to improve the composition of Congress by helping:

- * Re-elect certain pro-business incumbents.
- * Elect candidates who share the business viewpoint on legislative issues.

The goal of the Chamber's public affairs program and, specifically the endorsements, is to consistently improve the composition of Congress by helping elect members who share the business community's objectives to:

- * Reduce the dominating role of government in business affairs and in private lives of citizens.
- * Restore the economic freedom and vitality that will allow the private enterprise system to function in the best interests of all Americans.

The Chamber's goal is not to elect Democrats or Republicans, but to elect legislators who can be expected to support business objectives regardless of their party affiliation.

There are three categories for endorsement used by the Chamber. First, incumbents who have at least a 70% cumulative Chamber rating are eligible for endorsement, contingent upon membership support. These endorsed incumbents are designated as "Friends of Business." Those who face potentially competitive challenges are noted as "protect" situations.

Second, candidates for open seats are eligible for a "Friend of Business" endorsement if they can be expected to vote with the Chamber at least 70% of the time, do not have a competitive challenge and enjoy the support of the business community.

Finally, in races where the incumbent's rating is below 70%, or where no incumbent is running for re-election, the Chamber's three traditional criteria are applied:

- * The race is expected to be close.
- * There is a clear philosophical difference between the candidates on business issues, and one shares the business viewpoint.
- * The business-oriented candidate enjoys the support of the business community.

All endorsed races were selected after careful examination of vulnerability, membership views and business attitudes in the affected district and/or state, voting records and the views of political experts both within the Chamber and outside the organization. The Chamber sought input from a great variety of sources and no one individual exercised undue influence.

A critical challenge still faces the business community: to become even more active in politics in order to elect leaders who will advance the nation's economic interests. The purpose of this Endorsement Report, as well as other Chamber publications, is to help business meet this pressing challenge. For more information on this report or on the Chamber's public affairs program, contact Marc Leger, Director of Public Affairs, or Greg Wilson, Associate Director of Public Affairs at (202) 463-5600.

OCTOBER 1992
U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ENDORSEMENTS

ALABAMA

6 Incumbent: Ben Erdreich (D)

Chamber Cum: 45% (Erdreich)

AFL-CIO Cum: 74%

Recommendation: Elect Spencer Bachus (R)

Redistricting has given this district a Republican lean and gives challenger Spencer Bachus (R) a good chance of taking the seat. Bachus is an Attorney and former sawmill owner who served in the Alabama legislature and was a recent chairman of the State Republican Party. The Business Council of Alabama and the Alabama Alliance of Business and Industry have given him a 74% rating as a State Representative and 100% as a State Senator. Incumbent Erdreich (D) has consistently supported the organized labor position and is heavily funded by union PACs. His 1991 Chamber rating was 10%.

Committee: Spencer Bachus for Congress, P.O. Box 36004, Birmingham, AL 35236; Ray Pierce, Treasurer. (205) 323-8663

ARIZONA

6 Incumbent: New District

Recommendation: Open/Elect Doug Wead (R)

Former Reagan and Bush White House aide Doug Wead (R) will face state Senator and Environmental Committee chairman Karan English (D) in this new, evenly split and highly competitive district. They present voters with a clear choice. Wead has strong support from the religious right and out-of-state money, but must live down the carpetbagger label for his 1990 arrival in the state. He's been the highly visible point man for an initiative that would require a 2/3 majority in the legislature to raise state taxes. English is criticized as a rigid environmentalist: not very concerned about, or even interested in, the economic consequences of the proposals she advances. She has a low (though unquantified) rating with United for Arizona, a statewide business-oriented political group. She starts out the general election campaign as a slight favorite.

Committee: Doug Wead for Congress, P.O. Box 1606, Mesa, AZ 85211-1606; Todd Schumaker, Treasurer. (602) 644-9566

CALIFORNIA

49 Incumbent: New District

Recommendation: Open/Elect Judy Jarvis (R)

Two women face off in this new, north San Diego area district. The Republican, political newcomer Judy Jarvis, is a nurse who built a successful nurse placement service from scratch. She backs a capital gains tax cut, fully deductible IRAs, exempting the first \$1000 of interest income, and a tough line on federal spending and taxes generally. The Democrat, San Diego Port Commissioner Lynn Schenk, has more political experience and name identification. She served in Jerry Brown's administration and feels that upper bracket marginal income tax rates should be higher. She's backed by labor unions and environmental groups. Schenk led Jarvis 35% - 27% in mid-July but the margin has been shrinking and in a district that's 44% R - 39% D, Jarvis has plenty of upside potential as she becomes better known.

Committee: Judy Jarvis for Congress, 5350 Balboa Avenue, San Diego, CA 92124; Larry Scott, Treasurer. (619) 292-1142

CONNECTICUT

2 Incumbent: Gejendson, Sam (D)

Chamber Cum: 25% (Gejendson)

AFL-CIO Cum: 96%

Recommendation: Elect Ed Munster (R)

Recent polling data shows that Gejendson is vulnerable this election cycle. Voting records demonstrate that Gejendson is no friend of the business community. His NFIB rating is 25% and his NAM rating is 13%. State Senator Ed Munster (R) calls on government to bring spending under control, supporting a balanced budget amendment and line item veto power for the President. In the state Senate he authored a bill offering tax incentives to new enterprises or existing business engaged in expansion. He also supports market based health care reform.

Committee: Ed Munster for Congress, P.O. Box 152, Haddam, CT 06438; Joe DeMichele, Treasurer. (203) 345-2225

FLORIDA

4 Incumbent: Bennett, Charles (D)

Chamber Cum: 51% (Bennett)

AFL-CIO Cum: 50%

Recommendation: Elect Tillie Fowler (R)

Redistricting has increased the number of Republicans in this traditionally

Democratic district and given Tillie Fowler (R) a solid chance at winning this seat. Fowler is an Attorney and the first woman President of the Jacksonville City Council. Her opponent is former State Legislator Mattox Hair (D). Fowler supports the business position on key federal legislation. Fowler is considered to be leading the race and has good business support.

Committee: Tillie Fowler for Congress; 1430 Prudential Drive, Jacksonville, FL 32207; Michael Abney, Treasurer. (904) 399-1872

7 **Incumbent:** New District

Recommendation: Open/Elect John Mica (R)

Pro-business former State Legislator and Real Estate Developer John Mica (R) defeated two strong opponents in the primary and is considered to be the favorite in this race. Mica opposes national health care and supports tax credits for companies that hire new employees. Mica has the support business in the area. His opponent, Dan Webster (D) has no prior political experience and has received substantial financial support from organized labor.

Committee: John Mica for Congress, P.O. Box 181546, Castleberry, FL 32718-1546; Andrea Yuschok, Treasurer. (407) 628-3688

12 **Incumbent:** Ireland, Andy (R)

Chamber Cum: 82% (Ireland)

AFL-CIO Cum: 13%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Charles Canady (R)

While the Democrats have an edge in voter registration in this district, there is a conservative bent and this gives Charles Canady (R) a chance to win this seat. Canady is a former State Representative with a solid record of voting for business. Canady supports health care reform and no further increases in business regulation. His opponent Tom Mims (D), has received significant labor support.

Committee: Charles T. Canady for Congress, P.O. Box 5994, Lakeland, FL 33807; Bergon Brokow, Treasurer. (813) 644-2877

15 **Incumbent:** Bacchus, Jim (D)

Chamber Cum: 33% (Bacchus)

AFL-CIO Cum: 83%

Recommendation: Elect Bill Tolley (R)

Challenging incumbent Bacchus (D) is Bill Tolley (R), a former Harris Corp. lobbyist who won 48% of the vote in losing to Bacchus in 1990. Tolley won the Republican primary by beating a strong opponent and is making a solid challenge in this slightly more Republican district. Tolley supports a balanced budget amendment, line item

veto, Congressional reform, and no new business regulation. Incumbent Bacchus has a poor U.S. Chamber rating of 33% and divided local business support.

Committee: Bill Tolley for Congress, 4250 Pinewood Road, Melbourne, FL 32934; Pat Tolley, Treasurer (407) 254-4984

21 **Incumbent:** New District

Recommendation: Open/Elect as a "Friend of Business"
Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R)

State Senator Lincoln Diaz-Balart is running in this newly drawn district which is 54% Republican and 71% Hispanic. Diaz-Balart was the first Republican and the first Hispanic to be elected Chairman of the Dade County delegation in the Florida Legislature. Diaz-Balart was the 1988 co-chairman of the Hispanic Coalition for Bush. He has had a record of business support in the state legislature and can be expected to continue that business support when elected to Congress.

Committee: Lincoln Diaz-Balart for Congress, 3920 West 12 Avenue, Hialeah, FL 33012; Auyban Thomas, Treasurer. (305) 557-8310

GEORGIA

SE **Incumbent:** Fowler, Wyche (D)

Chamber Cum: 37% (Fowler)

AFL-CIO Cum: 75%

Recommendation: Elect Paul Coverdell (R)
Incumbent Wyche Fowler (D) is being challenged by Paul Coverdell (R). Coverdell is a businessman, former member of the Georgia Senate, and more recently Director of the Peace Corps. Coverdell has been endorsed by George Bush, and the U.S. Chamber endorsement would have the enthusiastic support of local Georgia Chambers. Incumbent Fowler has a U.S. Chamber rating of 37%, an AFL-CIO rating of 79%, and has been heavily funded by union PACs. While Fowler is currently considered the front-runner, recent polls show significant gains for Coverdell. The Ross Perot for President organization in Georgia recently endorsed Coverdell.

Committee: Paul Coverdell for U.S. Senate, 1730 N.E. Expressway 2nd Floor, Atlanta, GA 30329; Marvin Smith, Treasurer, (404) 320-1992.

4 **Incumbent:** Jones, Ben (D)

Chamber Cum: 52% (Jones)

AFL-CIO Cum: 72%

Recommendation: Open/Elect John Linder (R)

John Linder (R), a conservative former dentist and president of his own financial company is running in this Republican leaning district. Linder, who was a member of the Georgia House for 14 years and compiled a strong record as a pro-business voter, has the backing of most of the business in this district. Linder supports investment tax credits, the elimination of trade barriers, and opposes compulsory union membership. In 1990 he almost unseated the incumbent in a close race in which he gathered 48% of the vote. His opponent, Cathey Steinberg (D), also a member of the state legislature, has been characterized as not having a pro-business record. A Linder victory could provide stability in this district which has had several changes during the last decade.

Committee: John Linder for Congress; 2840 N.E. Expressway, Suite 214
 Atlanta, GA 30345; Lynn Linder, Treasurer. (404) 982-9068

9 **Incumbent:** Jenkins, Ed (D)

Chamber Cum: 61% (Jenkins)

AFL-CIO Cum: 43%

Recommendation: Open/Elect as "Friend of Business" Nathan Deal (D)

In this small town, rural, North Georgia district, J. Nathan Deal (D) has a great deal of support from the local business community. Deal supports investment tax credits and a reduction of capital gains taxes. He is a 12 year veteran of the State Senate and has served as President Pro-Tempore and Chairman of the Judiciary committee. His opponent, Daniel Becker (R), is a single issue (Pro-Life) candidate. Deal is well regarded and is expected to win in this very Democratic district.

Committee: Nathan Deal for Congress, 311 Green St., NE, Suite 300, P.O.
 Box 2522, Gainesville, GA 30503; Philip Wilheit, Treasurer.
 (706) 287-1992

10 **Incumbent:** Barnard, Doug (D)

Chamber Cum: 74% (Barnard)

AFL-CIO Cum: 27%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Don Johnson (D)

State Senator and Chairman of the Appropriations Committee Don Johnson (D) is the front runner in this race. Johnson has compiled a good voting record with the Georgia Chamber and has the strong support of business in this district. He won the

primary victory over U.S. Representative Ben Jones who switched districts, and three other candidates with a 53% margin. Johnson is expected to win very easily over his Republican opponent, Ralph Hudgens (R), in this competitive yet Democratic leaning district.

Committee: Don Johnson for Congress, 290 N. Milledge Avenue, P.O. Box 28, Athens, GA 30603; Lint W. Eberhardt, Treasurer. (706) 549-6900

ILLINOIS

11 Incumbent: Sangemeister, George (D)

Chamber Cum: 38% (Sangemeister)

AFL-CIO Cum: 83%

Recommendation: Elect Robert Herbolsheimer (R)

Redistricting in the 11th congressional district should make incumbent George Sangemeister (D) vulnerable. Approximately 53% of the voters in the district are new to him. Sangemeister has a U.S. Chamber voting record of 38%, and an AFL-CIO rating of 83%. His opponent, Robert Herbolsheimer (R), defeated five Republican opponents in March and has been steady ever since. Herbolsheimer supports reduced capital gains taxes, first time tax credits, and the deduction of credit card interest. Additionally, he would like to see a decrease in overall regulation.

Committee: Robert Herbolsheimer for Congress, 121 East Maple Street, New Lenox, IL 60451; Mike Reagan, Treasurer. (815) 485-6177

16 Incumbent: Cox, John (D)

Chamber Cum: 30% (Cox)

AFL-CIO Cum: 75%

Recommendation: Elect Don Manzullo (R)

Attorney Donald Manzullo (R) has been having success in his bid to unseat freshmen Representative John Cox (D), who is considered to be one of the most vulnerable House incumbents. Cox has a U.S. Chamber rating of 30%, and an AFL-CIO rating of 75% after his first term. Manzullo is running on a platform of cutting spending and decreasing government regulation. Manzullo favors a wide variety of tax and spending cuts to stimulate the economy and a tax credit system to help alleviate the health care crisis.

Committee: Don Manzullo for Congress, P.O. Box 7783, Rockford, IL 61125; Carol Weineke, Treasurer. (815) 394-1992

INDIANA

3 Incumbent: Roemer, Tim (D)

Chamber Cum: 40% (Roemer)

AFL-CIO Cum: 67%

Recommendation: Elect Carl Baxmeyer (R)

In a traditionally competitive district, Carl Baxmeyer (R) is running against incumbent Tim Roemer (D), who won the seat in 1990 by less than 3,000 votes. Baxmeyer owns a small business that specializes in land use and community development and is a member of the South Bend/Mishakawa Chamber. Baxmeyer supports investment tax credits, worker retraining, and re-instatement of IRA tax credits. Incumbent Roemer has a U.S. Chamber rating of 40% and a 67% AFL-CIO voting record.

Committee: Carl Baxmeyer for Congress, P.O. Box 4234, South Bend, IN 46634; Daniel Pfeifer, Treasurer. (219) 233-6125

KANSAS

4 Incumbent: Glickman, Dan (D)

Chamber Cum: 46% (Glickman)

AFL-CIO Cum: 64%

Recommendation: Elect Eric Yost (R)

Eric Yost is a litigator who won a competitive primary in August by beating several challengers including Dick Nichols. As a State Senator, Yost has an 85% Kansas Chamber rating. Yost supports tax cuts, a balanced budget and the denial of foreign aid to countries with closed markets. Incumbent Dan Glickman has a U.S. Chamber rating of 46% and may be in trouble because of the anti-incumbent mood and his 107 bounced checks.

**Committee: Eric Yost for Congress, 919 Park Lane, Wichita, KS 67218
Theron Fly, Treasurer. (316) 682-3742**

KENTUCKY

6 Incumbent: Hopkins, Larry (R)

Chamber Cum: 80% (Hopkins)

AFL-CIO Cum: 24%

Recommendation: Endorse as a "Friend of Business" Scotty Baesler (D)

With the retirement of Larry Hopkins, the present Mayor of Lexington, Scotty

Baesler, is the pre-eminent candidate in this district. Baesler is popular and well known for his efforts to try and bring government and business together in his city. Baesler enjoys the support of the business community, does not have a competitive challenge, and is expected to vote with the chamber a high percentage of the time. Baesler's popularity makes him the likely winner in this race.

Committee: Scotty Baesler for Congress, 386 East Main Street, Lexington, KY 40507; Michael Sullivan, Treasurer. (606) 231-8851

MARYLAND

4 Incumbent: New District

Recommendation: Open/Elect Michele Dyson (R)

This newly created district pits State Senator and narrow Democratic primary winner Al Wynn against Republican challenger and business owner Michele Dyson. Dyson has more than 18 years experience in small business management. Dyson is President of the National Business League of Montgomery County and Treasurer of the Montgomery County Black Republican Council. In 1988, she founded the Committee for Community Reinvestment which urges community banks to invest in local real estate and provide low interest loans to businesses that want to move into the area or those just getting started. Dyson's first priority in Congress will be to focus on creating jobs and expanding the business base in her district and throughout the country.

Committee: Michele Dyson for Congress, P.O. Box 932, Silver Spring, MD 20910; George Jenkins, Treasurer. (301) 588-8003

MASSACHUSETTS

1 Incumbent: Olver, John (D)

Chamber Cum: 33% (Olver)

AFL-CIO Cum: 100%

Recommendation: Elect Pat Larkin (R)

Incumbent Olver (D) was elected to fill a vacancy created by the death of Silvio O. Conte (R). In the approximately one year that he has been in office, Olver has compiled a poor voting record of 33% with the U.S. Chamber. Opponent Patrick Larkin (R) is running a strong race in a district that no longer includes Olver's stronghold city of Northhampton. Larkin supports a balanced budget amendment, investment tax credits, a reduction in capital gains, and a privately run health care system. He has been endorsed by Massachusetts Governor Weld.

Committee: Pat Larkin for Congress, P.O.Box 4954, Pittsfield, MA 01201; Michael Ferry, Treasurer. (413) 499-9200

3 Incumbent: Early, Joe (D)

Chamber Cum: 25% (Early)

AFL-CIO Cum: 86%

Recommendation: Elect Peter Blute (R)

Allegations of improprieties in office, and the general spirit of change, make incumbent Joe Early (D) susceptible to a challenge from State Representative Peter Blute (R). Blute has been a member of the State Legislature since he unseated an incumbent, becoming the only Republican to do so in 1986. He has made new jobs the major theme of his candidacy and supports capital gains reductions, research and development tax credits, and a job growth tax credit.

Committee: Peter Blute for Congress, 566 Boston Turnpike, Shrewsbury, MA 01545; Carl Copeland, Treasurer. (508) 798-0200

5 Incumbent: Atkins, Chester G. (D)

Chamber Cum: 24% (Atkins)

AFL-CIO Cum: 92%

Recommendation: Open/Endorse Paul Cronin (R)

Small businessman Paul Cronin (R) is a strong candidate running in this district. Cronin, who started and ran his own successful fiberglass company, has a very pro-business outlook. He supports overseas free trade, research and development tax credits, and enterprise zone legislation. Cronin would like to increase capital for small business and reduce governmental regulation. His opposition for this seat is former prosecutor Marty Meehan (D), who beat the incumbent in the primary.

Committee: Paul Cronin for Congress, 605 South Union Street, Lawrence, MA 01843; James Shannon, Treasurer. (508) 535-0660

6 Incumbent: Mavroules, Nicholas (D)

Chamber Cum: 28% (Mavroules)

AFL-CIO Cum: 94%

Recommendation: Elect Peter Torkildsen (R)

Incumbent Nick Mavroulas (D), who is under indictment for influence peddling, pulled out a razor thin margin in his primary but will be susceptible to a strong challenge from Peter Torkildsen (R). Torkildsen beat the Massachusetts House majority leader in an upset in 1984 and has a reputation as a strong campaigner. He supports investment tax credits, capital gains reductions, a balanced budget, and market based health care reform. With the anti-incumbent mood and the federal charges threatening, this is an open race.

Committee: Peter Torkildsen for Congress, 80 Prospect Street, Peabody, MA 01960; Ed McGuire, Treasurer. (508) 977-9600

10 **Incumbent:** Studds, Gerry E. (D)

Chamber Cum: 23% (Studds)

AFL-CIO Cum: 92%

Recommendation: Elect Dan Daly (R)

Former Massachusetts Undersecretary of Economic Affairs and Director of Business Development, Dan Daly (R), is challenging incumbent Gerry Studds (D) in this district. Daly has a strong pro-business agenda that includes a desire to give investment tax credits and reduce federal regulation. He has been endorsed by Massachusetts Governor Weld. As Undersecretary he was successful in facilitating legislation that provided for research and development tax credits and the repeal of sales tax on services.

Committee: Dan Daly for Congress, 160 Old Derby Street, Hingham MA 02043; Dorothy Daly, Treasurer. (617) 749-3080

MICHIGAN

1 **Incumbent:** Davis, Bob (R)

Chamber Cum: 54% (Davis)

AFL-CIO Cum: 66%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Phil Ruppe (R)

Phil Ruppe (R), who represented this district from 1967 through 1978, is attempting a comeback. During his House tenure Ruppe had an 82% U.S. Chamber rating. He is running against one-term State Representative Bart Stupak (D) who received a 22% rating from the Michigan Chamber. Redistricting has made this area slightly more Republican.

Committee: Phil Ruppe for Congress, 310 West Washington, Marquette, MI 49855; Lee Torrey, Treasurer. (906) 226-7445

2 **Incumbent:** Vander Jagt, Guy (R)

Chamber Cum: 86% (Vander Jagt)

AFL-CIO Cum: 16%

Recommendation: Open/Endorse as a "Friend of Business" Peter Hoekstra (R)

In a surprise defeat over Guy Vander Jagt, Peter Hoekstra (R) is the Republican nominee in this very conservative district. Hoekstra is the vice president of a furniture manufacturing company with a solid business perspective. He supports

capital gains tax reductions, business investment tax credits, and is a strong advocate of free trade. Hoekstra is a strong favorite over his opponent, Attorney John Miltner (D).

Committee: Peter Hoekstra for Congress, 1454 Cimarron Drive, Holland, MI 49423; Diane Ryckbast, Treasurer. (616) 335-5326

7 **Incumbent:** Wolpe, Howard (D)

Chamber Cum: 31% (Howard)

AFL-CIO Cum: 93%

Recommendation: Open/Endorse as a "Friend of Business" Nick Smith (R)
The retirement of the incumbent in this district, Howard Wolpe (D) left the door open for Nick Smith (R), a State Legislator, to run unopposed. Smith has a 77% rating with the Michigan Chamber and is expected to be a strong supporter of business in the Congress.

Committee: Nick Smith for Congress, P.O. Box 20142, Lansing, MI 48116; David Lember, Treasurer. (517) 372-6425

10 **Incumbent:** Bonior, David (D)

Chamber Cum: 21% (Bonior)

AFL-CIO Cum: 94%

Recommendation: Elect Doug Carl (R)
Stock broker Doug Carl (R) is expected to mount a serious challenge to the incumbency of David Bonior (D) in this district. Carl is a two term State Senator who has a 91% Michigan Chamber rating. Carl is a supporter of trade agreements and feels that they should be viewed as business deals designed to benefit the U.S. economy. Incumbent Bonior has a U.S. Chamber rating of 21% and an AFL-CIO rating of 94%, and may be in trouble because of his 75 rubber checks.

Committee: Doug Carl for Congress, 8701 Hall Road, Itica, MI 48317; Mary Shin, Treasurer. (313) 726-6392

11 **Incumbent:** Broomfield, Bill (R)

Chamber Cum: 87% (Broomfield)

AFL-CIO Cum: 18%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Joe Knollenberg (R)
Joe Knollenberg (R), a long time insurance agency owner, was the Republican winner of a bitter three way primary battle in his district. Knollenberg is the present Vice Chair of the Troy Chamber and as such will be a strong supporter of business.

Knollenberg supports a balanced budget, tax relief, a decrease in the U.S./Japanese trade deficit, and an increase in Eastern Bloc trade. Knollenberg has been endorsed by the retiring incumbent Bill Broomfield (R). His opponent, Walter Briggs (D), has taken several positions opposing the business point of view.

Committee: Joe Knollenberg for Congress, 27855 Orchard Lake Road, Farmington Hills, MI 48344; Robert Hallmark. (313) 488-1111

MISSOURI

2 Incumbent: Horn, Joan Kelly (D)

Chamber Cum: 30% (Horn)

AFL-CIO Cum: 100%

Recommendation: Elect Jim Talent (R)

In this district Jim Talent (R), who challenges incumbent Joan Kelly Horn (D), has a good chance of unseating her. Horn is high on the list of those not likely to win re-election and has a U.S. Chamber rating of 30%. Talent is the Missouri House Minority Leader and has a State Chamber rating of 79%. New district boundary lines will also increase Talent's likelihood of winning.

Committee: Jim Talent for Congress, 955 Executive Parkway, #201, St. Louis, MO 63132; Art Schaffart, Treasurer. (314) 453-0344

NEW HAMPSHIRE

SE Incumbent: Rudman, Warren (R)

Chamber Cum: 77% (Rudman)

AFL-CIO Cum: 18%

Recommendation: Open/Endorse Judd Gregg (R)

Current Governor Judd Gregg (R) easily won his primary and is the front runner in this race. He is a fiscal conservative who strives to control government spending, balance the budget, and encourage economic development through savings and investment. He supports full deductibility status for IRA savings, R&D tax credits, a capital gains tax cut, balanced budget amendment and line-item veto. Governor Gregg also favors SBA lending resources for small business and a review and overhaul of regulations that suppress business development and job creation. Under Gregg's leadership, New Hampshire has been rated the best state in the nation for working with business while protecting the basic purposes of government. Gregg also favors an international trade policy that leads to free and open trade, and the creation of enterprise zones. Gregg has substantial business support within the state. Gregg's opponent is Democrat John Rauh, a wealthy businessman and relative newcomer to politics. Rauh drew criticism in the primary as a carpetbagger, having moved to the state barely five years ago. Rauh finished third in a 1990 Democratic

Senate primary. He is critical of Gregg's PAC support and is trying to position Gregg as a "professional politician."

Committee: Judd Gregg for U.S. Senate, 42 Hanover Street, Manchester, NH 06101; Vas Alexopolous, Treasurer. (603) 626-1212

NEW JERSEY

2 Incumbent: Hughes, William (D)

Chamber Cum: 35% (Hughes)

AFL-CIO Cum: 77%

Recommendation: Elect Frank LoBiondo (R)

The incumbent, Hughes, has a low voting record with the Chamber and a record with NFIB of only one business vote in four. Hughes voted in favor of striker replacement legislation and opposed the balanced budget amendment. Hughes is being challenged by conservative businessman Frank LoBiondo (R). As a member of the New Jersey state Assembly, LoBiondo voted to cut taxes by \$600 million, and to expand urban enterprise zone benefits for New Jersey businesses. He has a 69% rating with the New Jersey State Chamber, supports a balanced budget amendment and less business regulation from the federal government.

Committee: Frank LoBiondo for Congress, P.O. Box 505, Rosenhayn, NJ 08352; Andrew McCrossen, Jr., Treasurer. (609) 794-8777

7 Incumbent: Rinaldo, Matthew (R)

Chamber Cum: 42% (Rinaldo)

AFL-CIO Cum: 82%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Bob Franks (R)

State Assembly Majority Leader Bob Franks is seeking election to this newly vacated seat. Franks has a 77% rating with the New Jersey State Chamber, and supports the U.S. Chamber on such issues as striker replacement, minimum wage and worker's compensation reform. He is a moderate/conservative who can be expected to maintain his pro-business voting record if elected to Congress. His high name recognition with little opposition virtually assures victory in November. Franks' opponent is Leonard Sendelsky, a political novice.

Committee: Bob Franks for Congress, 1961 Morris Avenue, Union, NJ 07083; Homer Dukes, Treasurer. (908) 686-7322

NEW YORK

SE Incumbent: D'Amato, Alfonse (R)

Chamber Cum: 63%

Recommendation: Elect D'Amato (R)

After a bitter Democratic primary Bob Abrams, a former prosecutor, won a razor thin, come from behind victory over a tough field of opponents to challenge Alphonse D'Amato who is seeking his third term. D'Amato's Chamber rating of 63% compares favorably to New York's senior Senator Moynihan's 29%, and is considerably higher than Abrams' (an avowed liberal) likely voting record. Immediately following the primary, polls showed Abrahms as having the momentum to unseat D'Amato.

Committee: D'Amato '92, 150 West 28th Street, 11th Floor, New York, New York 10001. (212) 366 - 0563

1 Incumbent: Hochbrueckner, George (D)

Chamber Cum: 27% (Hochbrueckner)

AFL-CIO Cum: 97%

Recommendation: Elect Ed Romaine (R)

The incumbent, Hochbrueckner, has a dismal voting record on business issues. His NFIB rating is 11% and his BIPAC rating is 4%. He has supported mandated family leave legislation and striker replacement. Hochbrueckner is once again being challenged by Ed Romaine (R). In 1988, Romaine received 49.3% of the vote making it one of the closest House races that year. Since that time, his name recognition has been enhanced by his two consecutive elections to County Clerk in Suffolk County. In that position, he has instituted a number of reforms and management initiatives designed to lower the cost of government and provide taxpayers sorely needed relief. Romaine supports tax incentives to encourage reinvestment of corporate profits and opposes increases in business tax rates. Romaine also supports private health insurance, a limit on federal spending increases, a balanced budget amendment, and the need for Congress to comply with the laws it imposes.

Committee: Ed Romaine for Congress, P.O. Box 173, Shirley, NY 11967; Joseph Poerio, Treasurer. (516) 399-7003

5 **Incumbent:** Ackerman, Gary (D)

Chamber Cum: 22% (Ackerman)

AFL-CIO Cum: 99%

Recommendation: Elect Allan Binder (R)

Incumbent Representative Ackerman is being challenged by Republican Allan Binder in this redrawn district that contains only 9% of Ackerman's former constituents. Binder is currently a member of the Suffolk County Legislature and has cut property taxes, opposed an increase in sales tax, opposed deficit borrowing and voted to cut his own pay in financially difficult times. Binder supports Congressional reform to include improving the spending habits of Congress, a cut in the capital gains tax, tax code reform, and deficit reduction. He opposes universal health care, mandated family leave and striker replacement legislation.

Committee: Allan Binder for Congress, 65-08 Fairfield Way, Commack, NY 11725; David Achackney, Treasurer. (516) 854-5100

18 **Incumbent:** Nita Lowey (D)

Chamber Cum: 26% (Lowey)

AFL-CIO Cum: 100%

Recommendation: Elect Joe DioGuardi (R)

Former U.S. Representative Joe DioGuardi built a moderately conservative record and took a leading role in budget reform and in opposition to tax increases during his term eight years ago. His previous pro-business voting record, 76% with the U.S. Chamber, indicates his philosophical stand on issues of importance to the business community. He supports a cut in the capital gains tax, reducing the operating cost of Congress, and a balanced budget amendment. He opposes racial quotas, mandated family leave and striker replacement. The incumbent, Lowey, has a poor voting record on business issues with a 9% NFIB rating and 10% BIPAC rating.

Committee: Joe DioGuardi for Congress, P.O. Box 561, White Plains, NY 10603; John Indelli, Treasurer. (914) 948-3625

24 **Incumbent:** Martin, David O.B. (R)

Chamber Cum: 75% (Martin)

AFL-CIO Cum: 31%

Recommendation: Open/Elect John McHugh (R)

State Senator John McHugh (R) has been one of the most pro-business members of the state legislature during his tenure in Albany. He has established a proven record of working to create and retain jobs, and has been an advocate for such programs as targeted investment credits for firms who boost employment, targeted reductions in

capital gains and reduction of government mandates on business. McHugh supports a balanced budget amendment, line-item veto, evaluation of each federal agency to determine cost-cutting measures and a return of the full tax deduction for IRA's. McHugh has strong business support in the district and the state.

Committee: John McHugh for Congress, P.O. Box 6161, Watertown, NY 13601; Patrick J. McHugh, Treasurer. (315) 786-7660

26 **Incumbent:** Matthew McHugh (D)

Chamber Cum: 26% (McHugh)

AFL-CIO Cum: 83%

Recommendation: Open/Endorse Bob Moppert (R)

Former County Legislator and Majority Leader Bob Moppert is a successful business owner and past recipient of the Small Business Person of the Year Award for Broome County. He has served as Chairman of the County Chamber Small Business Council, and taken active roles in many civic and business organizations in the district. He favors cutting regulation and taxation on individuals and businesses, restraint in government spending, reinstituting investment tax credits, and a regulation review process undertaken by the Council on Competitiveness.

Committee: Bob Moppert for Congress, 106 Washington Avenue, Endicott, NY 13902; Joyce Majewski, Treasurer. (607) 786-3260

PENNSYLVANIA

1 **Incumbent:** Foglietta, Thomas (D)

Chamber Cum: 21% (Foglietta)

AFL-CIO Cum: 97%

Recommendation: Elect Craig Snyder

Incumbent Foglietta (D) has a poor Chamber rating of 21% and may be losing some support in his district. Challenger, attorney Craig Snyder (R), was recently endorsed by the Fraternal Order of Police and has been closing the distance in this race. This district is a densely populated, south Philadelphia area that affords strong campaigner Snyder an opportunity to hand drop to most of the constituency, offsetting his limited funding. Snyder supports market based health care, legislative and tort reform, and opposes striker replacement. Snyder has been endorsed by Representative Tom Ridge (R, PA-21, CoC CUM 70%).

Committee: Craig Snyder for Congress, 844 North Orianna Street, Philadelphia, PA 19103; Mike Ecker, Treasurer. (215) 625-2415

14 **Incumbent:** Coyne, William (D)

Chamber Cum: 22% (Coyne)

AFL-CIO Cum: 96%

Recommendation: Elect Byron King (R)

The incumbent, Coyne, is being challenged by Republican Byron King. King supports investment tax credits, tax credits for businesses that hire and/or train people off the welfare rolls, accelerated depreciation schedules for new plant equipment, and regulatory relief to industries and individual businesses. King also supports a capital gains tax reduction, tort reform to help improve our private health care system, and line-item veto, and a balanced budget amendment. Coyne has a 21% rating with NFIB, 17% with NAM, and a 1% with BIPAC on business issues.

Committee: Byron King for Congress, P.O. Box 23236, Pittsburgh, PA 15222; Homer King, Treasurer. (412) 281-6581

TEXAS

28 **Incumbent:** New District

Recommendation: Endorse as "Friend of Business" Frank Tejeda (D)

State Senator Frank Tejeda (D) is running unopposed in this newly drawn district which is 8.5% black and 60% Hispanic. He is a Vietnam Veteran with a Masters in Law from Yale, a Masters in Public Affairs from Harvard and a J.D. from Berkley. He has highlighted health care, public education and veterans' affairs during his campaign. Tejeda has been a strong supporter on the business position on Tort Reform in the Texas Senate.

Committee: Frank Tejeda for Congress, P.O. Box 21609, San Antonio, TX 78221; (512) 474-7514

UTAH

SE **Incumbent:** Garn, Jake (R)

Chamber Cum: 90% (Garn)

AFL-CIO Cum: 11%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Bob Bennett (R)

Bob Bennett (R) has spent 12 years as a congressional staffer before returning to Utah in 1984 to take over the Franklin Institute, which sponsors productivity seminars. During his years as CEO, employment rose from four to nearly 1000. His positions on key issues are in line with the U.S. Chamber: he supports a balanced budget amendment if it includes strict limits on tax increases, a line-item veto, a capital gains tax cut, multiple uses of public lands, and health care reform without federal control. Wayne Owens (CoC Cum 26%) was severely damaged by a bitterly

divisive primary and anti-incumbent sentiment. Owens would certainly vote against the business community as consistently in the Senate as he has in the House. Over the past several months Bennett has moved from nearly invisible underdog to clear frontrunner.

Committee: Bob Bennett for U.S. Senate, P.O. Box 2534, Salt Lake City, UT 84110; John Baird, Treasurer. (801) 521-9534

2 **Incumbent:** Owens, Wayne (D)

Chamber Cum: 26%

AFL-CIO Cum: 86%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Enid Greene (R)

An articulate lawyer and current chairman of the national Young Republicans, Enid Greene (R) is on leave from her position as Gov. Bangerter's Deputy Chief of Staff while she runs for the House. Greene backs a line-item veto, a balanced budget amendment, and a hard freeze on all federal spending except social security COLAs. Her opponent, Karen Sheperd (D), is a left-leaning state Senator and a fundraiser for the University of Utah. She started Utah's main feminist newspaper and has many labor union endorsements, including the NEA's.

Committee: Enid Greene for Congress, P.O. Box 11232, Salt Lake City, UT 84147-0232; (801) 521-2808

WASHINGTON

1 **Incumbent:** Miller, John (R)

Chamber Cum: 76% (Miller)

AFL-CIO Cum: 36%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Gary Nelson (R)

State Senator Gary Nelson (R) faces an uphill battle against the acknowledged frontrunner, state Representative Maria Cantwell. The two candidates present quite a contrast. In the legislature Nelson has advanced pro-business views on tort reform as chairman of the Judiciary Committee; Cantwell is perhaps best known for trying to impose restrictions on growth. Nelson received a 93% rating with the Association of Washington Business (AWB) during the 1991-92 Legislature; Cantwell scored 24%. Nelson recently took early retirement after a long career with U.S. West. Cantwell came to the state as an organizer for Alan Cranston's 1984 presidential campaign.

Committee: Gary Nelson for Congress, 20224 Bollinger Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98155; (206) 363-1111

4 Incumbent: Morrison, Sid (R)

Chamber Cum: 79% (Morrison)

AFL-CIO Cum: 25%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Richard "Doc" Hastings (R)

Small businessman and former state Representative Doc Hastings is somewhat of an underdog against Democratic state Representative Jay Inslee in this swing district in central Washington. Inslee is a strong campaigner who started late and narrowly defeated in the primary the man widely expected to win - state Senator Jim Jesernig. Inslee, a liberal trial lawyer from Yakima, has not been particularly supportive on business in the state House, with a 35% rating over 1991-92, per the Association of Washington Business (AWB). Hastings, who rose to Republican caucus chairman and assistant majority leader during his years (1979-87) in the state House, has been a consistent friend of business. He presently operates a paper and janitorial supply business in Pasco.

Committee: Richard "Doc" Hastings for Congress, 4710 Desert Plateau Drive, Pasco, WA 99301; Sharlyn Berger, Treasurer. (509) 783-5440

8 Incumbent: Chandler, Rod (R)

Chamber Cum: 90% (Chandler)

AFL-CIO Cum: 17%

Recommendation: Open/Elect Jennifer Dunn (R)

Jennifer Dunn's many years as chairman of the state Republican Party boosted her to victory in a primary against two sitting state legislators. That was the election that mattered in this heavily Republican district. The Democrats aren't seriously contesting the seat. Their candidate, George Tamblyn, was a registered Republican until last year. Dunn's views on issues of interest to business are compatible with the USCC and in line with fellow Washington Republicans Chandler, Morrison, and Miller.

Committee: Jennifer Dunn for Congress, P.O. Box 40110, Bellvue, WA 98004; Larry Wells, Treasurer. (206) 786-7936

WEST VIRGINIA

3 Incumbent: Rahall, Nick Joe (D)

Chamber Cum: 29% (Rahall)

AFL-CIO Cum: 89%

Recommendation: Elect Ben Waldman (R)

Former White House aide Ben Waldman is seeking election by pressing the issue of taxes, economic development, employment and congressional reform. Waldman supports a balanced budget amendment, amendments requiring all new spending be paid for by reductions in other programs, the creation of enterprise zones and legislation providing incentives for new business investments. He opposes any new tax that comes without reductions in the budget and "out of district" mailings by incumbents. Incumbent Representative Rahall is ranked as the #2 franking abuser in Congress. Rahall has earned a dismal 11% BIPAC rating on business issues.

**Committee: Ben Waldman for Congress, Box 705, Union, WV 24983;
Tom Francis, Treasurer. (304) 772-3300**

STATE	CD	CANDIDATE	CoC	AFL-CIO	RECOMMENDATION
ALABAMA	SE	Shelby (D)	62%	78%	Re-elect
	1	Callahan (R)	90%	19%	Re-elect
	6	Bachus (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
ALASKA	SE	Murkowski (R)	78%	26%	Protect/Re-elect
	AL	Young (R)	66%	44%	Protect/Re-elect
ARIZONA	SE	McCain (R)	83%	15%	Protect/Re-elect
	1	Rhodes (R)	90%	8%	Protect/Re-elect
	3	Stump (R)	89%	7%	Re-elect
	4	Kyl (R)	92%	5%	Re-elect
	5	Kolbe (R)	93%	8%	Re-elect
	6	Wead (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
ARKANSAS	3	Hutchinson (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
CALIFORNIA	SE	Seymour (R)	100%	33%	Protect/Re-elect
	SE	Herschensohn (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	1	Riggs (R)	90%	25%	Protect/Re-elect
	2	Herger (R)	92%	18%	Re-elect
	4	Doolittle (R)	78%	9%	Protect/Re-elect
	6	Filante (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	10	Baker (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	11	Pombo (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	14	Huening (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	19	Cloud (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	21	Thomas (R)	92%	13%	Re-elect
	23	Gallegly (R)	95%	11%	Protect/Re-elect
	24	McClintock (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	25	McKeon	N/A	N/A	Elect
	27	Moorhead (R)	90%	7%	Re-elect
	28	Dreier (R)	92%	1%	Re-elect
	36	Milke-Flores (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	39	Royce (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	40	Lewis (R)	80%	15%	Re-elect
	41	Kim (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	42	Rutan (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	43	Calvert (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	44	McCandless (R)	89%	3%	Re-elect
	45	Rohrabacher (R)	88%	11%	Re-elect
	46	Dornan (R)	86%	9%	Re-elect
	47	Cox (R)	75%	6%	Re-elect
	48	Packard (R)	90%	7%	Re-elect
	49	Jarvis (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect

STATE	CD	CANDIDATE	CoC	AFL-CIO	RECOMMENDATION
COLORADO	51	Cunningham (R)	90%	17%	Re-elect
	52	Hunter (R)	85%	21%	Re-elect
	SE	Considine (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	McInnis (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	4	Allard (R)	100%	0%	Protect/Re-elect
	5	Hefley (R)	93%	11%	Re-elect
CONNECTICUT	6	Schaefer (R)	83%	20%	Re-elect
	2	Munster (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Scott (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	5	Franks (R)	100%	25%	Protect/Re-elect
DELAWARE	6	Johnson (R)	64%	49%	Re-elect
	AL	Castle (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
FLORIDA	1	Hutto (D)	76%	37%	Protect/Re-elect
	4	Fowler (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	7	Mica (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	6	Stearns (R)	79%	14%	Re-elect
	8	McCollum (R)	87%	8%	Re-elect
	9	Bilirakis (R)	82%	20%	Protect/Re-elect
	10	Young (R)	79%	15%	Protect/Re-elect
	12	Canady (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	14	Goss (R)	88%	14%	Re-elect
	15	Tolley (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	16	Lewis (R)	85%	13%	Re-elect
	21	Diaz-Balart (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
GEORGIA	22	Shaw (R)	84%	11%	Protect/Re-elect
	SE	Coverdell (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Ray (D)	74%	27%	Protect/Re-elect
	4	Linder (D)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	6	Gingrich (R)	87%	10%	Protect/Re-elect
	9	Deal (D)	N/A	N/A	Elect
IDAHO	10	Johnson (D)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	SE	Kempthorne (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
ILLINOIS	2	Crapo (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	SE	Williamson (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	2	Reynolds (D)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	6	Hyde (R)	86%	15%	Re-elect
	8	Crane (R)	88%	5%	Protect/Re-elect*

SWE	CD	CANDIDATE	CoC	AFL-CIO	RECOMMENDATION
	10	Porter (R)	86%	14%	Re-elect
	11	Herbolsheimer (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	13	Fawell (R)	95%	7%	Re-elect
	14	Hastert (R)	90%	12%	Re-elect
	15	Ewing (R)	100%	13%	Re-elect
	16	Manzullo (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	18	Michel (R)	89%	12%	Re-elect
	20	Shimkus (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
INDIANA	SE	Coats (R)	86%	23%	Protect/Re-elect
	3	Baxmeyer (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	5	Buyer (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	6	Burton (R)	87%	11%	Re-elect
	7	Myers (R)	79%	16%	Protect/Re-elect
	8	Mourdock (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect*
IOWA	SE	Grassley (R)	77%	19%	Re-elect
	2	Nussle (R)	90%	8%	Protect/Re-elect
	3	Lightfoot (R)	89%	10%	Protect/Re-elect
	5	Grandy (R)	89%	21%	Re-elect
KANSAS	SE	Dole (R)	84%	17%	Re-elect
	1	Roberts (R)	91%	5%	Re-elect
	3	Meyers (R)	81%	16%	Re-elect
	4	Yost (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
KENTUCKY	1	Hamrick (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Stokes (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	4	Bunning (R)	92%	9%	Protect/Re-elect
	5	Rogers (R)	80%	25%	Protect/Re-elect
	6	Baesler (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
LOUISIANA	1	Livingston (R)	87%	11%	Re-elect
	3	Tauzin (D)	71%	42%	Re-elect
	5	McCrery (R)	91%	11%	Re-elect
	5	Huckaby (D)	73%	31%	Re-elect
	6	Baker (R)	95%	13%	Re-elect
	6	Holloway (R)	89%	26%	Re-elect
MAINE	2	Snowe (R)	66%	47%	Protect/Re-elect
MARYLAND	1	Gilchrest (R)	90%	17%	Protect/Re-elect
	2	Bentley (R)	71%	49%	Re-elect

STATE	CD	CANDIDATE	CoC	AFL-CIO	RECOMMENDATION
	4	Dyson (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	5	Hogan (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	6	Bartlett (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
MASSACHUSETTS	1	Larkin (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Blute (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	5	Cronin (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	6	Torkildsen (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	10	Daly (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
MICHIGAN	1	Ruppe (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	2	Hoekstra (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Henry (R)	83%	31%	Re-elect
	4	Camp (R)	100%	8%	Re-elect
	5	Barcia (D)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	6	Upton (R)	95%	23%	Re-elect
	7	Smith (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	10	Carl (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	11	Knollenberg (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
MINNESOTA	2	Ludeman (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Ramstad (R)	80%	33%	Protect/Re-elect
	6	Grams (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
MISSISSIPPI	3	Montgomery (D)	80%	16%	Re-elect
	4	Parker (D)	85%	29%	Re-elect
	5	Taylor (D)	71%	44%	Re-elect
MISSOURI	SE	Bond (R)	80%	25%	Re-elect
	2	Talent (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	6	Coleman (R)	77%	22%	Protect/Re-elect
	7	Hancock (R)	85%	6%	Protect/Re-elect
	8	Emerson (R)	84%	23%	Re-elect
MONTANA	AL	Marlenee (R)	80%	17%	Protect/Re-elect
NEBRASKA	1	Bereuter (R)	84%	20%	Re-elect
	2	Staskiewicz (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Barrett (R)	90%	8%	Re-elect
NEVADA	2	Vucanovich (R)	86%	10%	Protect/Re-elect
NEW HAMPSHIRE	SE	Gregg (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	1	Zeliff (R)	100%	8%	Protect/Re-elect

STATE	CD	CANDIDATE	CoC	AFL-CIO	RECOMMENDATION
NEW JERSEY	2	LoBiondo (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Saxton (R)	77%	34%	Re-elect
	5	Roukema (R)	74%	36%	Re-elect
	6	Kyrillos (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	7	Franks (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	8	Bubba (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	11	Gallo (R)	75%	35%	Re-elect
	12	Zimmer (R)	70%	42%	Protect/Re-elect
	13	Menendez (D)	N/A	N/A	Elect
NEW MEXICO	1	Schiff (R)	79%	25%	Re-elect
	2	Skeen (R)	83%	12%	Re-elect
NEW YORK	SE	D'Amato (R)	63%	49%	Re-elect
	1	Romaine (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	5	Binder (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	13	Molinari (R)	63%	34%	Protect/Re-elect
	18	DioGuardi (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	22	Solomon (R)	80%	26%	Re-elect
	24	McHugh (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	25	Walsh (R)	70%	39%	Re-elect
	26	Moppert (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	27	Paxon (R)	88%	11%	Re-elect
	31	Houghton (R)	79%	38%	Re-elect
N. CAROLINA	SE	Faircloth (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	6	Coble (R)	92%	16%	Re-elect
	9	McMillan (R)	95%	16%	Re-elect
	10	Ballenger (R)	94%	14%	Re-elect
	11	Taylor (R)	90%	17%	Protect/Re-elect
N. DAKOTA	SE	Sydness (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	AL	Korsmo (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
OHIO	SE	DeWine	N/A	N/A	Elect
	2	Gradison (R)	82%	13%	Re-elect*
	4	Oxley (R)	92%	8%	Re-elect
	5	Gillmor (R)	74%	14%	Re-elect
	6	McEwen (R)	87%	16%	Protect/Re-elect
	7	Hobson (R)	80%	25%	Re-elect
	8	Boehner (R)	100%	0%	Re-elect
	10	Hoke (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	12	Kasich (R)	88%	14%	Re-elect
	13	Mueller (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect

STATE	CD	CANDIDATE	CoC	AFL-CIO	RECOMMENDATION
	15	Pryce (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	16	Regula (R)	72%	36%	Re-elect
	19	Gardner (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
OKLAHOMA	SE	Nickles (R)	88%	5%	Re-elect
	1	Inhofe (R)	92%	13%	Re-elect
OREGON	1	Meeker (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	2	Smith (R)	89%	14%	Re-elect
PENNSYLVANIA	SE	Specter (R)	53%	69%	Protect/Re-elect
	1	Snyder (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Dougherty (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	5	Clinger (R)	75%	40%	Re-elect
	6	Jones (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	7	Weldon (R)	72%	55%	Re-elect
	8	Greenwood (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	9	Shuster (R)	86%	19%	Re-elect
	13	Fox (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	14	King (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	15	Ritter (R)	82%	35%	Protect/Re-elect
	16	Walker (R)	85%	13%	Re-elect
	17	Gekas (R)	86%	18%	Re-elect
	18	Santorum (R)	80%	42%	Protect/Re-elect
	19	Goodling (R)	76%	27%	Protect/Re-elect
	21	Ridge (R)	70%	56%	Re-elect
RHODE ISLAND	1	Machtley (R)	62%	53%	Protect/Re-elect
S. CAROLINA	1	Ravenel (R)	79%	41%	Re-elect
	2	Spence (R)	84%	17%	Re-elect
TENNESSEE	1	Quillen (R)	83%	19%	Re-elect
	2	Duncan (R)	82%	31%	Re-elect
	7	Sundquist (R)	83%	17%	Re-elect
TEXAS	2	Peterson (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Johnson (R)	100%	0%	Re-elect
	4	Hall (D)	70%	33%	Re-elect
	6	Barton (R)	92%	4%	Re-elect
	7	Archer (R)	92%	4%	Re-elect*
	8	Fields (R)	91%	7%	Re-elect
	12	Geren (D)	77%	52%	Protect/Re-elect
	13	Sarpalius (D)	79%	43%	Re-elect

STATE	CD	CANDIDATE	CoC	AFL-CIO	RECOMMENDATION
	14	Laughlin (D)	71%	50%	Re-elect
	17	Stenholm (D)	80%	19%	Re-elect
	19	Combest (R)	90%	10%	Re-elect
	21	Smith (R)	89%	15%	Re-elect
	22	DeLay (R)	92%	3%	Re-elect
	23	Bonilla (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	26	Armey (R)	97%	2%	Re-elect
	28	Tejeda (D)	N/A	N/A	Elect
UTAH	SE	Bennett (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	1	Hansen (R)	90%	3%	Re-elect
	2	Greene (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
VIRGINIA	1	Bateman (R)	83%	10%	Protect/Re-elect
	5	Payne (D)	70%	54%	Re-elect
	6	Bliley (R)	92%	12%	Re-elect
	10	Wolf (R)	78%	17%	Re-elect
	11	Butler (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
WASHINGTON	SE	Chandler (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	1	Nelson (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	3	Fiske (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	4	Hastings (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
	8	Dunn (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
WEST VIRGINIA	3	Waldman (R)	N/A	N/A	Elect
WISCONSIN	SE	Kasten (R)	78%	26%	Protect/Re-elect
	2	Klug (R)	80%	33%	Protect/Re-elect
	3	Gunderson (R)	79%	28%	Protect/Re-elect
	6	Petri (R)	74%	23%	Protect/Re-elect
	8	Roth (R)	82%	14%	Re-elect
	9	Sensenbrenner (R)	81%	9%	Re-elect
WYOMING	AL	Thomas (R)	97%	0%	Re-elect